1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.

December 7.—The *chirimía* plays on the Templo Mayor; this, with the ringing of the bells, announces that tomorrow will be the *fiesta* of La Virgen Purísima.

December 8.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of La Virgen Purísima. The *chirimía* plays again. At dawn rockets are set off in the churchyard. This is not an important *fiesta*. There are special masses when the priest is there. In the afternoon mothers bring their little girls, dressed in white as for a confirmation, with white crowns on their hair, to the Templo Mayor. Each child offers a bouquet of flowers to the Virgin.[1]

December 11.—The *chirimía* plays again.

December 12.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The usual *chirimía*, bells, and rockets celebrate the *fiesta*. This is not an important *fiesta* in Tepoztlán, although the Virgin of Guadalupe is the patron of the Indians of Mexico. Some from Tepoztlán go to the great celebration at Guadalupe.

The attention of the community is focused on the harvest. Almost every man is working in the fields. The carpenter neglects his bench, the iron worker his forge. The corn factors have arranged counters in the doors of their houses. There they receive the corn as it is brought them, measuring it out in small wooden

[1] They do this again in May (the *mes de María*); and in June little boys bring flowers to the *Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children.

Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm."[1]

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations.[2] Confirmation takes place at about eight years.

It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par-

[1] There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderas* who know. They fix them [*descomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them."

[2] No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

many families in his barrio to the new religion. Thus, for the first time in the history of the village there were Catholics and Protestants.

The Protestant families were ostracized and on a number of occasions their homes were stoned. The fact that the Protestants were among the poorer families, and primarily *tlacololeros*, did not add to the prestige of the new cult. In the face of the hostility against them their number dwindled. Today there are less than a dozen families who continue as Seventh Day Adventists. They have managed to adapt themselves by continuing to pay the barrio *limosnas*, supporting local fiestas, and not being too strict about keeping their Sabbath (Saturday) when working for a Catholic employer. Though no longer persecuted they still have very low status in the village. The children of these families have suffered a great deal. They are the butt of bitter comments and jokes in the school and have very few friends in the village. Nevertheless, the leader of the Seventh Day Adventists has again become active in village politics and has been accepted again by his Catholic political colleagues. This has meant a departure from Seventh Day Adventist tenets, in that he has returned to drinking and smoking. Now he says of himself, "I am half-Catholic again."

This experience with Protestantism within their own ranks has made Tepoztecans wary of outsiders who may be identified as Protestants. This was further reinforced by the establishment of the Hatch Demonstration Project under the auspices of the YMCA. The church has waged a sucessful propaganda campaign against the project, denouncing it as a Protestant missionary center working under the guise of a scientific program.

THE FAMILY

Tepoztlán is a family-centered society. The biological family consisting of parents and unmarried children constitutes the basic economic and social unit, and is by far the predominant type. The Tepoztecan family has a strong patriarchal emphasis and patrilocal residence is preferred. Families are strong, cohesive units held together by traditional bonds of loyalty, common economic strivings, mutual dependence, stability of marriage, the prospect of inheritance, and finally, the absence of other social groups to which the individual can turn in time of need. Family unity and stability is further assured by the pattern of child training and the nature of parent-child relationships, which will be discussed later.

Some Tepoztecan families work smoothly with a minimum of tensions. In others there is much conflict and tensions resulting from drunkenness of the husband, adultery of one of the spouses, sibling rivalry, favoritism on the part of the parents, and difficulties with in-laws. Even in these cases, however, the negative or disruptive aspects of family life are generally counterbalanced by the positive ones, and the family remains the strongest and most cohesive unit. Moreover, despite the many social and economic changes of recent years and the rather sharp differences between generations, we find little decline in parental authority and little evidence of family disorganization.

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participation, there is strong social pressure as well as fear that the saint may be offended by failure to work for his upkeep. Still, in recent years there has been increasing difficulty in obtaining barrio cooperation. Now three of the seven barrios rent out the land and use the rental for the expenses of the chapel.

The barrio *cuatequitl* cleans the churchyard and repairs the chapel. Barrio differences in this connection are interesting. Although the smaller barrios of San Pedro, San Sebastián, and Los Reyes are the most reliable workers on the village *cuatequitl*, they appear to be the most neglectful in the upkeep of their respective chapels, indicating perhaps that Catholicism has less of a hold in these barrios. Indeed, it was in the barrio of San Sebastián that a Protestant sect won over about fifteen families. The barrio of Santa Cruz, also very poor, is known for its superior care and great devotion to its chapel. The larger barrios, too, keep their chapels in repair.

The third occasion for the *cuatequitl* is that of a group of neighbors within the barrio who may agree among themselves to repair the street or to build a water tank or some other local improvement. This *cuatequitl* generally involves fewer people and still occurs quite frequently. During our visit to the village four new water founts were built in this way. The *cuatequitl* of the barrio and of neighbors would seem to be a natural mechanism for a great deal of cooperative endeavor on a purely voluntary basis. But the poor quality of human relations in the village, and the fear to take the initiative in any venture, keep cooperative undertakings at a minimum. Yet the fact that there exists a tradition of cooperative forms of labor has occasionally led to truly heroic and dramatic undertakings. The most recent example of this was the construction of the road to Cuernavaca.

One of the features that characterize all occasions of collective labor is the free use of drink. It would seem that Tepoztecans need the stimulus of drink to enable them to work together successfully. The implications of this for the analysis of the Tepoztecan character will be discussed later.

WAGE LABOR

Although wage labor is an old practice in Tepoztlán, labor is not viewed impersonally as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the market. The relationship between employer and employee is a very personal one; and as a rule, a man will not work for someone he does not like. Tepoztecans are almost as particular about choosing the men they work with as they are in choosing drinking companions. This attitude of independence has become much more marked since the Revolution, for Tepoztecans now have alternatives not available then. The democratic ideology of the Mexican Revolution has influenced Tepoztecans, who are jealous of their new freedom. The harsh treatment received by Tepoztecan laborers on the haciendas and sometimes even in the village before the Revolution would be unbearable today.

It is the custom for the employer to seek out laborers, rather than vice versa. In fact, most Tepoztecans consider it humiliating to ask for a job, and ordinarily a man

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Rojas, still resided in Mexico City and refused to return for fear of attack by the revolutionaries. During his absence some of his functions were carried on by *rezanderos*, laymen who knew from memory a great number of prayers for different occasions, such as for a dying man, a difficult delivery, the reappearance of lost or stolen articles, good crops, avoiding arguments in the family, keeping the husband from drinking too much, and so on. The *rezanderos* were kept busy in those difficult days and earned a comfortable income.

In the absence of the regular priest, a young priest was sent to the village in 1919. He energetically set about to put the church in order. He appointed new *mayordomos* of the *cofradías*, a new leader of the Asociación de la Divina Providencia, and a church *cantor*. But Tepoztecans seemed to have forgotten Catholic practices during the Revolution, and hardly anyone went to confession or Mass—despite the exhortations and threats of the Father.

The only practice the villagers still conscientiously clung to was baptism, and they were eager to baptize the children born during the Revolution. To get the people to attend church once more, the priest refused to baptize any child until the godparents were confessed. But Tepoztecans had forgotten the prayers and the formalities of confession and were afraid and embarrassed to appear before the priest. As a result, they were unwilling to become godparents. Parents were then forced to ask the few *rezanderos* who had kept their connections with the church to be the *padrinos* of their children. These men eventually monopolized the godparentage of the village and even came to charge for this service. One *rezandero* had about one hundred godchildren. Needless to say, the *rezanderos* were unable and unwilling to fulfill their obligations as godfathers, and scarcely recognized their godchildren. The parents considered the original godparent of their choice as the true godparent, rather than the *padrinos rezanderos* who were forced upon them.

When the village was more peaceful the regular priest returned with some of the *cacique* families, and religious life became normal once again—but without its former splendor. Fiestas were again celebrated, the popular Carnaval again held. The ban against baptism without confession was lifted and anyone might serve as godparent.

But the new tranquillity was soon to be shattered, this time by the Catholic Church which feared restraining measures of the post-revolutionary government. The church adopted a policy of non-cooperation and active resistance. On July 31, 1926, the archbishop of Mexico ordered all priests to leave the churches and to cease public religious services. Faithful Catholics were called upon to withdraw their children from the public schools to protect them from "socialist teaching." Priests were instructed to give Mass and to administer the sacraments in a clandestine manner.

In Tepoztlán these church orders resulted in the priest's once again leaving for Mexico City, and religious activity waned. The most important prayers and ceremonies were conducted secretly by one of the more able *rezanderos*, Don Francisco

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593 606 his parents. Ideally, the wife's parents maintain a certain distance in the affairs of their married daughter. For example, they are not supposed to give her gifts without the knowledge and consent of her husband or parents-in-law. Relations between *consuegros* hinge upon the fulfillment of their respective roles toward the married couple. In some cases parents are "jealous" of their children and interfere a good deal.

GODPARENTS, GODCHILDREN, AND CO-PARENTS

608 571 By the system of *compadrazgo*, two sets of relationships between non-relatives are established: one is that between spiritual godparents (*padrinos*) and their godchildren (*ahijados*), the other is between the parents and the godparents, a relationship known as *compadres*. Both the *padrino-ahijado* and the *compadre* relationship are among the most solid in Tepoztlán. They establish bonds which sometimes are stronger than ties of kinship. The general purpose of the godparents is to provide security for the godchild, by the selection of an additional set of parents who will act as guardians and sponsors of the godchild, care for him in emergencies, and adopt him if he is orphaned. The *compadre* system, in turn, by extending the bonds of kinship in a ceremonial way, enlarges the in-group. This system seems ideally suited for a society like Tepoztlán where the extended family is weak.

Social, economic, and political factors may enter into the operation of the *compadre* system. Poor families will seek better-to-do families as godparents for their children. Similarly, it is thought desirable to have *compadres* from the city, for it is assumed that a city family can be of greater help in time of need. But this also works to some disadvantage. We found a number of cases of godparents from Mexico City who have taken their godchildren as servants and paid them very low salaries, even according to Tepoztecan standards.

The more godchildren a man has, the more *compadres* and the wider the circle of persons who can be counted on for favors. For this reason, anyone who aspires to a position of leadership in the village must have many *compadres*. On the other hand, there is some feeling against the use of the *compadre* system in this fashion. Many families view the *compadre* system as a burden and try to limit their *compadre* relations to a few families, by asking the same set of godparents to serve for all their children.

608 571 795 The three most important types of godparents in Tepoztlán are those of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. In selecting godparents of baptism, individuals are sought who can be relied on to aid the child in times of emergency. Tepoztecans prefer to choose godparents and *compadres* who are neither neighbors nor relatives, so that intimacy and quarrels can be avoided. An analysis of the *compadres* of a few families from the smaller barrios showed that most of the godparents and *compadres* were from other barrios. A brother, sister, cousin, uncle, or aunt may serve as a godparent, but they are rarely called upon.

In the case of the first child of a newly married couple, the godparents of baptism are chosen by the parents of one of the spouses, usually by the husband's mother.

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As the couple grow older, the husband may make the selection, and often friendship, rather than higher economic status, dictates the choice.

Godparents address their godchildren in the familiar *tú* and are addressed in turn by the respectful *Vd.* Traditionally, the godchild had to kiss the godparent's hand at each meeting, but this is no longer common. It is customary for the godparent to offer the child a few centavos upon meeting. But the obligations of the godparent are many. They must assist at the baptism, purchase the child's clothing for the occasion, and pay the fee to the priest. They also accompany the mother and child to the *sacamisa*, or first Mass, which should take place forty days after the birth of the child. If the infant dies they arrange for the wake, dress the child appropriately for burial, and contribute to the expenses of the musicians at the funeral. One of the obligations of the godparent is to urge their *compadres* to send the child to school. If the child learns bad habits or otherwise needs correction, the parents may call upon the godparents to scold the child.

The godparents of confirmation are generally selected by the godparents of baptism, and occasionally the latter may accept both roles. The godparents of marriage are also important figures. One of their functions is to act as mediators between the couple, in case of quarrels or separations.

One of the distinctive aspects of the *compadre* system in Tepoztlán, and in Mexico as a whole, is the way in which the godparent relationship has been extended far beyond the original Catholic forms. In most of Spain there are only two or three types of godparents, popularly those of baptism, communion, and confirmation. Not so in Tepoztlán. In addition to the types mentioned above, Tepoztecans also have the following: *padrino de miscoton*,[6] *padrino de medida o listón*, *padrino de evangelio*,[8] *padrino de escapulario*, *padrino del niño Jesús*, and others. It would seem that Tepoztecans have utilized every possibility for extending the godparent relationship. This may be a reflection of their seeking security through the extension of ceremonial kinship, for in most of the above cases a *compadre* relationship is formed.

The godparent system has also been extended to secular activities. At soccer and basketball games in the village, each team has its godmother who dresses in white, carries flowers, and acts as the sponsor of the team, handing out the prizes to the winners. At social dances there are also godmothers who act as chaperones for the young people.

Compadres address each other with the respectful *Vd.* and avoid intimacies. They may not drink together, discuss sexual matters, or tell dirty jokes. It is a respectful relationship and in this lies its strength. *Compadres* will often exchange favors, and

[6] The term *miscoton* is Náhuatl and refers to a small sweater which the godparent places on the godchild as a protection against illness.

[7] The *medida o listón* refers to a small piece of ribbon which has been blessed by the priest and is placed on a sick child as a charm against evil.

[8] This godparent is also chosen for a child who is ill. A woman of the world is preferred, a woman with a "hard heart." By going to church and saying a prayer, she becomes the child's godmother.

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ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS LIFE IN TEPOZTLAN *

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For purposes of anthropological inquiry, it is suggested that a Catholic society be studied in terms of formal, nominal, cultural, and folk Catholicism. By formal Catholicism is meant the intrinsic position of the Roman Catholic Church, a concrete and specific organization with hierarchical roots in Rome. A formal Catholic might be defined as one who seriously practices the teachings of the Church, following Her rites and proscriptions, fully cognizant of what is expected, holding the beliefs maintained by the Church emanating from the high tradition downward. Nominal Catholicism, quite common in many parts of the world and within many societies, is an identifiable acceptance of membership in the Church, involving some allegiance to Her, but with little effort to follow faithfully those rites and proscriptions expected of the practicing Catholic. Cultural Catholicism, sometimes also referred to as social Catholicism, infers the social organization of the Church as a way of life in terms of Her impinging on other wishes and forms, such as a preference for a particular type of music or a specific form of ecclesiastical art, or for a way of life within the Catholic framework as it defines itself in ethnic and regional expression. Finally, folk Catholicism, sometimes spoken of as popular Catholicism, is Catholic practice which emanates from the people, and finds its expression in indigenous practices and customs, only distantly related to the Church's formal aspects, but not as a rule, in conflict with them. All four of these types—formal, nominal,

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cultural or social, and folk Catholicism—represent a part of the whole which is known as the Catholic Church. Wherever Catholicism is found, these forms may be found, sometimes interwoven, sometimes sufficiently distinct to be discerned as gradations on a continuum, running from the two polarities of formal to folk Catholicism.

The village of Tepoztlán in Morelos, Mexico, an Aztec community with a Catholic tradition beginning in the early days of the Conquest, was first described by Robert Redfield in his classical account of a Mexican Village[1]. Recently, Oscar Lewis has made a restudy, providing a more analytical source of data as gathered by him and his staff[2]. Redfield used his well-known holistic approach, while Lewis' work is more in the nature of a factor analysis. It was not feasible or desirable that either author eliminate a discussion of religion when reporting a predominantly Catholic society. Redfield pinpointed the religious activity of the Tepoztecans from the standpoint of ethnology, as is seen particularly in his chapter, "A Tepoztecan Book of Days"[3] describing the holy days and holidays which make up the religious life as well as the social organization of the people. Although he himself did not share the religious convictions of the people he studied, Redfield presents a very accurate and interesting account. In his restudy, Lewis speaks of the religious behaviour of the people, and in some ways reveals his own lack of familiarity with Catholic thought and practice. The restudy was valuable, however, because of the objectivity with which Lewis delineates some aspects of village life not emphasized by Redfield.

It is a common procedure in the physical sciences for one investigator to build upon the work of another, retesting, checking findings, and proceeding only after having verified the results of previous experimentation. This approach is fairly new in

[1] Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán, A Mexican Village*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930.
[2] Oscar Lewis, *Life in A Mexican Village, Tepoztlán Restudied*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951.
[3] Redfield, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI, pp. 97-132. See also Chapter XI, "The Santo and the Veterano", pp. 193-204.

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the social sciences, particularly in ethnology. Readers are perhaps familiar with Lewis' point of view[4], and Redfield's rejoinders[5]. It apprears that what Redfield clarified was the rhythm of life and the flow of custom in this village, the strengths and assets of the people. Lewis, on the other hand, isolated those aspects of village life which expressed themselves in conflict form. Thus familial, social and sexual conflicts were brought into the foreground. That there are conflicts in all societies is admitted; that analysis of conflict therefore captures the inner essence of a small community may be questioned. Such a question does not, of course, eliminate the data presented by Lewis; it merely calls attention to his focus. In either case, objectively speaking, the investigator found what he sought, and reported what he observed. The result is that we have available two viewpoints about the life of this village. Our purpose was not to analyze the differences between Redfield and Lewis, but rather to build upon the foundation provided by their works and to seek further light on the religious life of the village.

The chief value of additional study along religious lines by an anthropologist who is also a practicing Catholic would lie in the opportunity thus provided for gaining deeper insight into the religious life of the people, by an attempt to discover how the Church looks upon Her own problems in this village. This calls for considerable objectivity as well as an awareness of the intent of the formal Church.

Redfield has remarked to the writer that the Catholic observer holds at least an advantage of seeing how the Church looks upon Herself and Her own problems[6]. This introduces a new methodological note, as the Catholic scientist observes the Church's position in the formal or high tradition as it inter-

[4] Lewis, *op. cit.*

[5] Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953. pp. 154-157. Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 132-137.

[6] Personal communication. The writer is greatly indebted to Professor Redfield for his advisement concerning the point of departure and the field work relative to this paper.

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acts with the folk or low tradition, and is influenced by it from the "grass-roots" level[1]. If we regard these extremes—the high tradition and the low tradition—as two ends of the continuum from formal to folk Catholicism, we may be able to determine something about their effect upon each other. A more careful analysis of Catholic cultures may be possible, however, by including the intermediate positions of nominal and cultural Catholicism, not emphasizing the degree to which the religious beliefs are practiced in terms of the Church's own goals, but rather, the forms which Catholicism manifests. In this sense, Tepoztlán is again restudied, both to secure additional information, and to permit a different sort of participant observation by an anthropologist practicing the faith of the villagers he studies.

One basic reason for selecting for this study the village of Tepoztlán was that here was manifested in bold relief the frontier where formal and folk Catholicism meet. The natural center of any formal Catholic activity rests locally with the parish priest who is pastor of the Church in a specific geographic area. In Tepoztlán, Dom Pedro Rojas has held this post for the past thirty-six years, under appointment by the Archbishop of Cuernavaca. His role, however, becomes somewhat complex because his parish is made up of seven semi-independent units known as barrios, each of which centers around a smaller church (iglesita) or chapel of which he is also the pastor, and which in all formal matters is accountable to him. Nonetheless each of these chapels does function with some degree of independence, pointing up the significance of folk Catholicism, as will be illustrated later in this brief account.

In addition to having had the advantage of studying the works already accomplished about this village, the present discussion is based upon personal observations made during two summer field seasons. The writer and his wife spent four consecutive week-ends in Tepoztlán during August 1955, and lived in the village continuously during August and the early days of September, 1956. We participated in the daily social and

[1] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. 67-104.

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12/ lay persons who expressed their religious devotion by leadership or participation in barrio chapel and parish affairs.

12/ 795 The first problem facing the investigator is a definition of the Church, both in terms of Her reality as an institution, and in terms of Her view of Herself. From the standpoint of social organization, the Church is a growing organism, subject to culture change and culture retention. From the standpoint of the Church, it is necessary as a part of that same reality, to view the Church as She views Herself.

In a resume of a paper which he delivered before the American Catholic Sociological Society in 1955, Dr. Rudolph E. Morris makes the following point:

> The customary typology of religion refers to prophetic and organized religion, or to a sect—and church-types of religion. The underlying idea is that religious movements generally start out as prophetic ideas of a single man through personal inspiration and that they are later on institutionalized and put into the 'straitjackets' of dogma and ritual. . . . These types of typology are insufficient to explain Christianity in its growth and development. Christianity was instituted from the very outset as Church, by Christ Himself; he who believes in the Incarnation, in God made Man, understands religion as likewise 'incarnated', i.e., set up as an institution which guarantees continuity in the stream of time. . . . taking account of this primary institutionalization of religion, distinguishes from it a second level of institutionalization. This one refers to the external day-to-day organization and activities of the Church, especially in its lower units, the parishes. On this second level of institutionalization the organs of the Church not only try to adjust reasonably into their respective environments; they show, also, a tendency toward totally fitting into the environment. . . . The hope is expressed . . . that sociologists may be able in helping to solve the present confusion by developing a structural analysis of the Church in Her manifold units and by studying the conditions under which religious experience can, within the framework of the instituted Church, function as a fertilizer for the growth of the Mystical Body of Christ.

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It is readily seen from this that one can view formal Catholicism both in terms of religious phenomena as such, and also in terms of the goals and ends of the Church as She conceives of Herself. In principle the Church need not be dependent upon social organization, although of necessity She must operate within it. There is this difference between formal Catholicism as such, and those aspects of cultural and folk Catholicism which are reflected in what Redfield terms the "social organization of tradition."

In the village of Tepoztlán, we may identify formal Catholicism as being materially expressed by the parish Church and the pastor. Nominal Catholicism is represented here as elsewhere by that portion of the population which claims to be Catholic, but does not observe with any great faithfulness the wishes, the spirit, or the laws of the Church. Cultural Catholicism is demonstrated in the social implications of holy days, holidays and fiestas which originate in liturgical religious observances but become indistinguishable in the minds of some, from patriotic or ethnocentric celebrations. Folk Catholicism is manifested in demonstrations of fireworks as a part of Catholic worship, indigenous artistic expression used in decorations of chapels and images, special meanings given to saints, which have developed in the santos cult, and in lay participation in barrio chapel affairs with the onus of responsibility upon the layman, without the presence of the village pastor.

The presence of neighborhood shrines, which are actually small churches dedicated to a patron saint who thus becomes the patron of the barrio, from the Catholic point of view, presents a unique problem in terms of religious activity in the village. The barrio and the chapel are known by the name of the patron saint, whose image is placed on the main altar, and whose fiesta is observed each year according to the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church. The chapel and certain lands adjoining it, are the property of the barrio. The seven barrios are geographically delineated, each having its own point of view regarding its importance, the importance of the patron saint, and its relationship to religious action. Barrio member-

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794 ship is hereditary, and represents strong social identification
621 in addition to religious significance. Dual membership is possible, in that one automatically is a permanent member of the first barrio in which one lives, but upon moving into another, becomes also a member of the one in which residence occurs. Each barrio maintains distinctive and to a certain extent, independent activities, which offer to the investigator the opportunity to make a more precise analysis of religious behaviour.

794 If one may speak of the Tepoztecans as "folk", and their
795 indigenous barrio activities as folk Catholicism, then we may say that the folk were viewed in terms of their membership not only in the barrio chapels but in the formal Church as well. For example, each barrio fiesta represents an important expression of social and religious life, but baptisms, marriages, and funerals of barrio members take place in the parish Church. The obligation to attend Mass on Sundays and holy days is usually fulfilled in the parish Church, although it may be fulfilled by attendance at Mass in any one of the barrio chapels when provision for this has been made. The reception of the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion takes place in the barrio chapel only by special arrangement; whereas in the parish Church these Sacraments may be received daily. Daily visits to pray take place in chapels and in the parish Church, but the pastor officiates at the services in the parish Church, while lay people lead the Rosary in the chapels. Thus the low tradition of the Church represented by the folk Catholicism of the barrios, is in continual interaction with the high tradition, represented by the formal Catholicism of the parish Church.

795 The eminent social scientist, Dr. Manuel Gamio, once made a distinction between what he called "pagan Catholicism" and Roman Catholicism in Mexico. Many other authorities have pointed out similarities between Christian practices and those of the various ancient Mexican religions. Vaillant has given a clear picture of the parallel between the hierarchy of the Christian saints and the Aztec point of view regarding their gods, pointing out that

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> . . . while the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do most of the ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.[8]

In approaching Catholicism anthropologically, one must consider the culture retention which obtains from earlier practices and culture change within the dynamics of the social organization of the Church. M. D. W. Jeffreys has developed this thought in his recent very instructive article, "Some Rules of Directed Culture Change under Roman Catholicism".[9] In the beginning of the Catholic Church in Mexico, following the Conquest, the Spanish friars built upon the then already existing patterns of religious behaviour. Some have maintained that the ancient forms were merely superimposed upon paganism, as a kind of veneer. The answer to this claim lies in the fact that from the beginning, the Catholic Church has followed the purpose "not to destroy, but to fulfill".

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The perennial question arises, especially in the barrios, as to what kind of relation exists between the people and the formal Church. Among Catholics everywhere, the concept of saintly intervention is a common one indeed. The barrio chapels are dedicated to saints, who have been said to have become the gods of the barrios. It is recognized that there is some relationship between the practice of patronizing a saint and earlier Aztec practices common in this village. It does not follow, however, that because of the strong Aztec influences of the past, or the similarities to be found between Aztec and Catholic practices, the nature of the Communion of Saints in the Christian tradition is entirely missed. Simple people do not readily distinguish pure spirit, and require symbols to represent such mysteries as the Godhead or the Trinity. There is much evidence to the effect that religious feelings and beliefs in the barrios though expressed through folk ways, are in harmony with the formal

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[8] George C. Vaillant, *The Aztecs of Mexico*. New York, Doubleday Doran & Co., 1944. Penguin Books, Pelican Edition, 1950, p. 178.

[9] *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58, No. 4, (August, 1956), pp. 721-731.

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intentions of the Catholic Church; and that the formal Church, in turn, affects the expression of religious feelings and beliefs thus influencing the folk practices.

What then is indigenous to the folk, and what is superimposed by the formal Church, through Her representatives in the hierarchy? This may be illustrated by the observation of the Feast of the Assumption, August fifteenth. The Feast was celebrated in the parish Church as a Holy Day of Obligation of the Universal Church, with Masses as on Sundays, and special ceremonies, decorations and observances in honor of the Virgin's Assumption into Heaven.

The little barrio of San Sebastian also celebrated this Feast with certain indigenous practices. A statue of the Virgin known as Our Lady in Transito had a prominent part in the observances; it appears to belong jointly to San Sebastian Chapel and that of another village. Each year on the Vigil of this Feast, the statue is brought in procession from one chapel to the other, to remain alternate years in each chapel.

At five o'clock in the morning, the day was heralded by the shooting off of fireworks and the ringing of the chapel bells. At nine o'clock, Mass was said by a visiting priest from Cuernavaca, invited by the barrio, with the permission of Padre Rojas. The Mass followed the exact formalities of the Mass as found in the parish Church, or any Catholic Church, including sung responses in Latin accompanied by organ music, and a sermon on the meaning of the Assumption. Following the Mass there was recitation of the Litany of the Saints, with responses in the vernacular, the saying of the Rosary, and Benediction. Since the Reserved Sacrament is not kept in this chapel, or in any of the barrio chapels, the priest consumed the Host following Benediction. This was the only variation from Benediction as it is observed in the parish Church.

At the conclusion of these ceremonies, in which deep and genuine religious feeling was observed on the part of the worshippers, the congregation withdrew to the churchyard, where the children in costume, performed the dance known as Los

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759 Spain, where a woman cures by saying appropriate prayers.[10]
171 Although she cannot be formally recognized by the priest, she is an accepted cultural entity in Catholic village life, much as is the case in Tepoztlán.

794 It might be supposed that there is a normal reciprocity be-
795 tween priest and laity, between the formal Church and the barrio chapel, between the high tradition and the low tradition. This reciprocity or series of expectations formulates the basis of society in Tepoztlán, where the formal Church organizes Herself pretty much as do formal churches anywhere, regardless of the underlying interactions between formal and folk Catholicism. To be sure, in any society the proscriptions of the Church do not always coincide with the culturally approved patterns.

Under the title of Catholic Action, there are three or four
575 parish organizations. These include one for men, one for
794 women, and one for boys. As parts of the nation-wide Acción
795 Católica, these groups are considered to be somewhat weak, although when they do meet, usually about once a week, the pastor is present, and they discuss "Catholic principles and ways".

796 In addition to daily Mass in the parish Church each morning, Padre Rojas presides at "La Doctrina" each evening. This includes Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, recitation of the Rosary, reading of the liturgy of Vespers of the day, the singing of hymns, and Benediction. Usually there are more women present than men, but people of all ages were observed in attendance. Some days the group was relatively large; on other days only a few people came. The factor of ritual as well as religious attraction is paramount in such devotions. Indeed
795 there is sometimes a wide gap between ritualistic propitiation
796 of God, and moral practices among the folk. To the sophisticated Catholic, ritual and morality are synthesized; but to the folk there are cleavages which, in Tepoztlán, appear to reflect Indian practices. As Father J. Franklin Ewing, S.J. states, "In many discussions it is necessary to distinguish between what an anth-

[10] Julian Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*. New York: Criterion Books, 1954.

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ropological friend of mine calls 'folk-Catholicism' and the attitude of theologians and other well-educated Catholics"[11]. In the case of the fiesta, we have an extension of a religious pattern which overflows into the social organization of the village.

It is seen, then, that the parish priest has considerable influence over the religious activities of the village[12], and at the same time, the barrio people do carry on a certain amount of indigenous religious life, expressed in various patterns, accountable to the formal Church, but not always a full part of it, although not in conflict with it.

In conclusion it may be said that the barrio world of Tepoztlán represents the low tradition in Catholicism, and that it interacts with the formal Church representing the high tradition. If the observer is not too familiar with Catholic practices, it is possible that an interpretation of the findings in terms of social organization alone will miss important points. If the observer shares Catholicism with the observed, there may be greater accuracy in appraising Catholic practices. Mistakes may be made, but there is an acceptance of the investigator on the part of the people who will thus discuss those aspects of the investigation which are Catholic in essence with a different focus than when speaking to a non-Catholic investigator. The observer of religious patterns in Tepoztlán can see the interaction of folk and formal Catholicism as a pattern of culture, meaningful both to the parish priest and to the members of the barrios. If the Catholic participant observer can maintain genuine objectivity while admitting his set of values, then we have an additional source of interpretation of religious patterns. These patterns cannot be seen as merely formal, or as merely folk, but rather as operating on a continuum, with the expected interaction of the several parts. The total result will be one more tool for the analysis of religious behaviour, for as Everett Hughes has pointed out, the whole of sociology has manifested itself within the bounds

[11] *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 29, (New Series Vol. 4), No. 4, (October, 1956), p. 123.

[12] In this connection, see Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948, Chapter XIX, "Religion and the Rural Church", pp. 454-483.

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121 795 of Roman Catholicism[13]. We might add that anthropological techniques can be further refined to enhance our study of village folk life along these lines.

Can the Catholic observer in largely Catholic areas retain objectivity? Certainly his scientific norms will be no different from those of other observers. His only advantage is in his role as a participant observer who is accepted as a Catholic. This advantage can be used constructively or otherwise, depending upon the circumstances surrounding his Catholicity. As for the villagers themselves, whether in the role of the parish priest and his major assistants, or in the role of the mayordomos and other barrio helpers, the investigator is looked upon as one who can and does share in some of the deeply emotional patterns of a religious nature. Any investigator can recognize that in rural Mexico, Catholicism was superimposed upon a previous system, but whether or not the factual details of the Catholic Faith are recognized implies considerable familiarity with Catholic thought. Of course it must be admitted that if Catholicism is a religious fact, as well as a fact of social organization to the observer, it might be anticipated that some recognition would be given to the essentials of the formal Church while not discounting the indigenous folkways of the people, as is so frequently observed in barrio religious life.

177 795 [121] It has been our final conclusion and one which we were not predisposed to accept, that the folk expression of Catholicism in this village appears to be in conformity with the formal intentions of the Roman Catholic Church. This is the reversal of our initial impression. Some Aztec residues which have been transposed into Catholic form were noted, along with evidences of early Spanish interpretation of Catholicism which are unique to that culture. Upon this foundation has been built, however, a genuine indigenous form of religious expression which is truly folk in that

[13] Everett C. Hughes, "The Early and the Contemporary Study of Religion; An Editorial Foreword", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LX, No. 6, (May, 1955), pp i-iv.

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it arises out of the inner feelings and convictions of the people, 177
and truly Catholic in that it is in harmony with the intentions 795
of the formal Church.